

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 111640Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4241

INFO AMEMBASSY BLANTYRE

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0873

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, RH, ZA

SUBJECT: VORSTER PREDICTS IMMINENT AGREEMENT TO RESUME
RHODESIAN TALKS

REF: CAPE TOWN 0870

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER TOLD ME EVENING
DEC 10 THAT RHODESIAN PRIME MINISTER SMITH ADN ZAMBIAN
PRESIDENT KAUNDA HAVE REACHED TENTATIVE AGREEMENT TO RESUSCITATE
CONSULTATIONS. AGREEMENT WORKED OUT BY TWO HAS BEEN APPROVED
BY RHODESIAN LIBERATION LEADERSHIP BUT HAS NOT YET RECEIVED
IMPRIMATUR OF NYERERE, SIR SERETSE KHAMA, OR MACHEL. MOST
SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF AGREEMENT IS THAT BLACKS HAVE PULLED
BACK FROM INSISTENCE ON IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE ASPRE-
CONDITION FOR FUTURE TALKS. IF EVENTS PROCEED ACCORDING
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TO SMITH-KAUNDA SCENARIO AS OUTLINED BY VORSTER, SMITH

WILL ANNOUNCE BEFORE WEEKEND THAT HE IS GRANTING FREEDOM TO ZANU/ZAPU POLITICAL LEADERS AND CHIEF LIEUTENANTS, THAT HE HAS ANCEPTED CEASE FIRE OFFER FROM LIBERATION GROUPS AND THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION TO BE ATTENDED ONLY BY RHODESIANS WILL SOON MEET TO DISCUSS FRANCHISE QUALIFICATION FOR VOTER ROLLS. VORSTER STATED THAT ONCE ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE AND CONFIRMED BY LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESPONSE, SAG WILL ANNOUNCE PLANS TO WITHDRAW POLICE FROM RHODESIA. VORSTER SEEMS OPTIMISTIC, BUT NOT UNDUTY SO. IT SEEMS TO BE APPROPRIATE EMOTIONAL STANCE, GIVEN PARTIES INVOLVED AND SERIOUS GAPS IN TENTATIVE AGGEEMENT WHICH MAY NOT PROVIDE AFRICANS WITH SUFFICIENT FACE-SAVING POSSIBILITIES TO EXPLAIN RETREAT FROM IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE PRE-CONDITION. END SUMMARY.

2. PRIME MINISTER VORSTER ASKED ME TO CALL ON HIM EVENING DECEMBER 10 AT HIS CAPE TOWN RESIDENCE.PM, IN APPARENT GOOD HUMOR, BRIEFED ME ON SOUTH AFRICA PARTICIPATION IN LUSAKA TALKS. FOLLOWING IS CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTSJAS HE OUTLINED THEM.

3. ON THURSDAY, DEC 5, SAG RECEIVED REQUEST FROM ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEND REPRESENTATIVE TO BE IN LUSAKA FOLOWING MORNING. (IMPRESSION GIVEN WAS THAT SCHEDULED MEETING OF WHITE AND BLACK RHODESIANS, THREE AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND MACHEL WOULD ANNOUNCE AGREEMENT TO CALL CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.) EARLY NEXT MORNING (DEC 6) FOREIGN MINISTRX SECRETARY (HIGHEST-RANKING CIVIL SERVANT) BRAND FOURIE TRAVELED TO LUSAKA. FOURIE COOLED HEELS IN HOTEL ROOM UNTIL MID-AFTERNOON WHEN TAKEN TO CONFERENCE SITE. ON WAY, ZAMBIAN ESCORT TOLD HIM CONSULTATION AMONG BLACK AFRICANS HAD HIT SNAG WHEN ZANU LEADER SITHOLE HAD DEMANDED IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE AS PRE-CONDITION FOR FURTHER NEOOTIATIONS. SITHOLE'S POSITION WAS APPARENTLY UNANIMOUSLY ACCEPTED BY OTHER AFR CANS AFTER SOME DEBATE.

4. AT CONFERENCE, PRE-CONDITION WAS ANNOUNCED BY CHAIRMAN NXERERE AS FIRST ORDER OF BUSINESS. RHODESIANS RESPONDED THAT THEY HAD NOME PREPARED TO DISCUSS FRANCHISE QUALIFICATIONS AND CALLING OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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CONVENTION. NEW PRE-CONDITION MADE CONTINUED DISCUSSION IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT FURTHER CONSULTATION WITH THEIR GOVERNMENT . THEY IMMEDIATELY LEFT CONFERENCE TO RETURN TO SALISBURY. CONVERSATION AND DEPARTURE WAS NOT RPT NOT ACRIMONIOUS.

5. FOURIE STAYED BEHIND IN CONFERENCE HALL TO TELL BLACK DELEGATES THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD NOT RPT NOT URGE RHODESIA TO ACCEPT IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE PRE-CONDITION. (AT THIS

POINT, VORSTER SPECULATED THAT AFRINANS MIGHT HAVE PREVIOUSLY UNDERESTIMATED RHODESIAN RESOLVE TO SOLDIER ON, MISREAD HOW FAR SAG WOULD GO IN URGING RHODESIANS TO SETTLE, OR SIMPLY REACTED TO PRESSURES FROM OTHER BLACK STATES.) FOURIE THEN RETURNED TO SOUTH AFRICA.

6. ON SUNDAY, DEC 8, AFTER FOUR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD AGREED TO MERGE UNDER ANC UMBRELLA, SAG RECEIVED CALL FROM ZAMBIA STATING THAT KAUNDA BELIEVED THAT IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE NEED NOT BE REGARDED AS A PRE-CONDITION FOR FURTHER TALKS. KAUNDA WAS UNDERSTOOD TO BE SPEAKING FOR RHODESIAN BLACKS AS WELL. FOURIE TRAVELED TO LUSAKA MONDAY FOR TALKS WITH ZAMBIANS AND REPS OF ENLARGED ANC AT WHICH SUNDAY'S CONVERSATION WAS CONFIRMED AND SAG WAS ASKED TO PERSUADE RHODESIANS TO RESUME TALKS ON UNDERSTANDING THAT IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE WOULD NOT BE A PRE-CONDITION. KAUNDA MAD, BY THAT TIME, APPARENTLY ASSUMED CMIEF NEGOTIATIONIOR ROLE REPRESENTING NYERERE, KHAMA, AND MACHEL IN THEIR ABSENCE.

7. FOURIE RETURNED TO SA MONDAY EVENING TO REPORT TO VORSTER. ON TUESDAY FOURIE WENT TO SALISBURX FOR TALKS WITH IAN SMITH, DURING WHICH FOURIE AND THE RHODESIAN REPS, POSSIBLY INCLUDING SMITH, TALKED BY TELEPHONE WITH THE ZAMBIANS. FOURIE AND SMITH ALSO CONSULTED VORSTER BY TELEPHONE. AS RESULT, SMITH AND KAUNDA REACHED AGREEMENT THAT PRE-CONDITION OF IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE WOULD BE WITHDRAWN AND THAT LIBERATION LEADERS WHO HAD BEEN RELEASED FROM RHODESIAN JA LS FOR TALKS WOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAY IN LUSAKA UNTIL DEC 12 (THEY HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO RETURN DEC 10). IT ALSO AGREEDO THAT SUBJECT TO APPROVAL BY NYERERE, KHAMA, AND MACHEL, SMITH WILL ANNOUNCE ON DEC 12, OR SHORTLY THEREAFTER:

A. MUTUALLY AGREED CEASE FIRE WHICH WILL BE EFFECTIVE
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AS EARLY AS THIS COMING WEEKEND,

B. FREEDOM OF JAILED ZANU/ZAPU LEADERS
ANB CHIEF LIEUTENANTS, AND

C. CALLING OF CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE (WITH ONLY RHODESIANS PARTICIPATING) TO DECIDE ON FRANCHISE QUALIFICATIONS.

8. BY TERMS OF TENTATIVE AGREEMENT, SMITH NEED NOT LIFT BAN ON ZANU"ZAPU BECAUSE ALL GROUPS NOW MERGED INTO ANC, WHICH IS NOT BANNED. ACCORDING TO VORSTER, SMITH-KAUNDA AGREEMENT HAS BEEN APPROVED BY LIBERATION GROUP LEADERS BUT, AT TIME OF MY MEETING WITH PM, HAD NOT YET RECEIVED APPROVAL OF PRESIDENTS OF BOTSWANA AND TANZANIA, AND FELIMO'S MACHEL.

9. VORSTER STATED THAT AS SOON AS SMITH MAKES ANOUNCEMENT AND IT IS RESPONDED TO BY CORROBORATING STATEMENT FROM LIBERATION LEADERS, SAG WILL ANNOUNCE INTENTION TO BEGIN WITHDRAWAL OF ITS POLICE FROM RHODESIA. ACTUAL WITHDRAWAL WILL, HOWEVER, COINNIDE WITH PROGRESS IN DE-ESCALATION OF GUERRILLA ACTIVITIES. PRIME MINISTER FEELS THAT SAG HAS DONE ALL IT CAN. HE IS CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT PIECES WILL FALL INTO PLACE.

10. BRITISH AMBASSADOR BOTTOMLEY TOLD ME THIS MORNING, THAT VORSTER HAD PROVIDED HIM WITH THE SAME INFORMATION. VORSTER EXPRESSED HIS HOPE TO BOTTOMLEY THAT BRITISH WOULD ACCEPT AND SUPPORT THESE AGREEMENTS.

11. COMMENT: TENTATIVE AGREEMENT MAY NOT TFFER SUFFICIENT FACE-SAVING ELEMENT FOR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS TO BACK AWAY FROM THEIR PRE-CONDITION OF IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE. WHILE THEY COULD BE HELPED OVER THIS PROBLEM BY APPARENT CONFUSION IN PRESS AND ELSEWHERE (CAPE TOWN 870 AND LONDON 16123) OVER WHETHER THEY REALLY INTENDED IT AS A NON-NEGOTIABLE PRE-CONDITION OR NOT, THE ISSUE MAY PERSIST AS A POTENTIALLY DIVISIVE ONE FOR THE NEW ANC COALITION AND ITS NON-RHODESIAN SUPPORTERS. EVEN IF ALL BLACK PARTIES AGREE (AND VORSTER HAS SOME DOUBTS ABOUT STRENGTH OF NYERERE'S
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COMMITMENT AND DURABILITY OF ZANU'S COMPATABILITY WITH OTHER

LIBERATION MOVEMENTS), BLACKS AND WHITES IN RHODESIA STILL HAVE MANY PROBLEMS TO SURMOUNT BEFORE AN AGREED UPON SETTLEMENT CAN BE REACHED.
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